DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 067 979 HE 003 391

AUTHOR Boyd, William M., II
TITLE Access and Power for Blacks in Higher Education.
INSTITUTION Educational Policy Center, New York, N. Y.
SPONS AGENCY Henry Luce Foundation, New York, N. Y.
PUB DATE Jul 72
NOTE 31p.; A Report on an Educational Policy Center Symposium

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Higher Education; *Minority Role; *Negro Education; *Negro Students; *Race Relations

ABSTRACT

This is a report on a symposium that discussed the problems of access and power for blacks in predominantly white colleges. It was agreed that more data was needed to improve the position of blacks, and that the problems of blacks must be related to the problems of higher education in general. White institutions tend to have stereotyped images of black students and therefore have stereotyped reactions to black students. Colleges should utilize their experience and proven capabilities in recruiting black students rather than launching completely untried programs. Other needs identified include: improved counseling; reasonable standards; and black recognition that acquisition of skills has priority over institutional change. The Educational Policy Center plans follow-up efforts based on this symposium. (CS)

Access and Power for Blacks in Higher Education

by

WILLIAM M. BOYD, II

A REPORT ON AN
EDUCATIONAL POLICY CENTER SYMPOSIUM

July, 1972

The symposium and report were made possible by
a grant from The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

The Educational Policy Center is a non-profit corporation which has been established to assist colleges, universities, and educational organizations to provide the best possible conditions for blacks in higher education. EPC is especially aware of the growing percentage of black participation in higher education which is occurring in the often inhospitable setting of white institutions.

Increasing the supply of data and analysis which can assist in the correct identification and solution of problems involved in developing full participation of blacks in all aspects of campus life is EPC's approach. The techniques used by the Center include research, information dissemination, and technical assistance.

EPC finances its activities through contributions from foundations, corporations, and individuals. Further information about EPC and about participation in or support of EPC's activities can be obtained from:

Dr. William M. Boyd, II
Executive Director
Educational Policy Center
400 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10017

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Arthur Ashe, Jr. - Professional Tennis Player and Lecturer
William M. Birenbaum - President, Staten Island Community College
James E. Cheek - Prcsident, Howard University
Walter C. Daniel - President, Lincoln University (Mo.)
Seth H. Dubin - Partner, Sinsheimer, Sinsheimer and Dubin, Attorneys at Law
John E. Harr - Associate, John D. Rockefeller 3rd
Ulric Haynes, Jr. - Senior Vice President, Spencer Stuart & Associates, Management Consultants
James R. Houghton - Vice Chairman of the Board, Corning Glass Works
Clark Kerr - Chairman, Carnegie Commission on Higher Education
E. Theodore Lewis - Associate, Spencer Stuart & Associates
George C. Lodge - Professor, Harvard Business School
William E. Lowry, Jr. - Director, Inland (Steel) JOBS Training Program
Paule Marshall - Novelist
Margaret Mead - Curator Emeritus of Ethnology, American Museum of Natural History
John Morning - President, John Morning Design
Frank W. Render, II - Senior Associate, Oram Associates Inc., Public Relations & Fund Raising
James W. Stevens - Executive Vice President, Laird, Incorporated
Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. - President, Michigan State University
John Winthrop - Director, Wood, Struthers & Winthrop

Officers: John Morning, Chairman; Ulric Haynes, Jr., Treasurer; E. Theodore Lewis, Secretary

ACCESS AND POWER FOR BLACKS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A Report on an EPC Symposium

INTRODUCTION

Blacks continue to confront the segregation of power and barriers to access in American higher education. These problems are so closely related that they cannot be solved unless they are considered together. Nevertheless, most treatments of racial equality in higher education fail to establish and develop this relationship. People lament the failures of financial aid policies to meet the needs of many black students. They do not, however, associate those failures with the lack of black participation in setting as well as implementing those policies. There is great concern about the inadequacy of information received by prospective black students. Frequently, however, no connection is made between that and the absence of authoritative black input into decisions about the types and channels of information which are necessary. Administrators complain about the lack of "qualified" black professors. Nevertheless, they neither pressure their colleagues to produce more black Ph.D.'s nor work hard to hire blacks for faculty or administrative positions which could influence the production of black Ph.D.'s.

In an attempt to stimulate improvement in the situation of blacks in higher education, the Educational Policy Center assembled a small group of knowledgeable individuals to address problems of both access and power for blacks in higher education. This report is an attempt to convey the substance of the discussions which took place on March 18 and 19, 1972 in

Glen Cove, Long Island. The goal is to reflect the tone, emphases, and suggestions of the symposium in an organized manner rather than to provide a chronological transcription of the proceedings. EPC anticipates that the report will stimulate additional discussion and will contribute to reevaluation of some current folk wisdom about blacks in higher education.

Actual or vicarious participation in the exchange of information which this symposium fostered should benefit people who are involved in almost any aspect of higher education. It helps identify major problems more clearly. It increases knowledge of resources available to solve problems of providing racial justice in higher education. It also expands awareness of the ways in which those resources are being used and of obstacles to allocating them more effectively.

At the symposium there was broad consensus about two of the major obstacles. It was agreed that much of the approach to improving the position of blacks in higher education is based on guesses and/or myths rather than accurate data. Support, therefore, was expressed for EPC's goal of developing and popularizing the types of data which are needed. It also was agreed that no effective resolution of the problems of blacks in higher education can be reached by discussions which fail to relate blacks to the position of higher education in general.

Among the arguments which led to this conclusion was the assertion that adequate resources rarely, if ever, are allocated to programs which are oriented exclusively to blacks. It also was noted that any developments on the campus can be important because general decisions have as much, if not more, impact on blacks as those which consciously apply to blacks. Instituting a three-year bachelor's program for all students,

shifting financial assistance to greater reliance on loans than grants, or eliminating required courses can affect black students more than the creation of a black studies program or community-involvement effort.

Because the problems faced by blacks are so complex and so intertwined with the general problems of higher education, this symposium tried to bring together people who view higher education from a variety of vantage points. The twenty-three participants included seventeen blacks and six whites. They were affiliated with public and private, as well as predominantly black and predominantly white, institutions and organizations. They came from all regions of the United States and every sector of academic life. (See appendix for complete roster.)

Through four formal sessions chaired by EPC's Executive Director and interspersed with informal discussions, the group focused on mutual concerns for about twenty hours. Each participant was asked to participate actively and to share experiences freely. There was no division into sub-groups. No one was asked to prepare a formal presentation. Several people were, however, asked to participate in brief, extemporaneous panel discussions on topics selected by the chairman. These panels were developed into exchanges involving the entire group.

EPC conceived this project in three phases. With the completion of the symposium and the circulation of this report the first two phases have been undertaken successfully. The third phase will involve follow-up efforts based on the first two phases and reactions to them.

WHITE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: PREVALENT PROBLEMS

All participants, including those whose personal and professional commitments are to black schools, directed most of their attention to conditions in white schools. This happened for several reasons. Most schools are white, and in recent years most black students have begun to attend white schools.[1] Black students continue, however, to occupy only about one-half as many places in white schools as they should to achieve parity, or approximately the same percentage of the college population as of the general population.[2] Blacks are even less well represented in faculties, administrations, and governing boards.[3] Most importantly, blacks in white schools have less power, fewer role models and advocates, and less success than their peers in black schools. Much better statistics are needed, but it is clear that white schools must do better in sharing power with blacks. One university president, thirty-five community college presidents, and a handful of trustees, deans, and department chairmen simply do not represent equitable distribution of power in over 2,000 colleges and universities.

Stereotypes and Institutional Responses

In attempting to deal with the real problems of blacks in white institutions, it is necessary to ignore a number of red herrings and false premises. One which is so prevalent that its appeal appears irresistible is stereotyping. Although innumerable warnings about this pitfall have been issued, most whites and some blacks continue to fall into it. Fortunately, the participants in this symposium quickly agreed that there was no one "black student" or one set of problems and remedies. They also agreed that the search

for that level of uniformity was unproductive and was a consumer of resources which need to be applied elsewhere.

Notions that all blacks wear labels like "disadvantaged" or "supermen" and "separatists" or "oreos" must be abandoned. This is particularly necessary because such labeling produces cumulative error by fostering further incorrect and sometimes subconscious assumptions. For example, it is clear that, in spite of evidence to the contrary, many people believe that all blacks from low income families come from fatherless homes, have "lower class" values, suffer from great academic deficiencies, and are "true believers" in separatist ideology. As a result, many institutions have developed standard response patterns which are dysfunctional, if not damaging. They consider low motivation and limited potential as givens, so they fail to challenge or encourage many of their black students. They interpret every assertion of pride and identity as confirmation of a separatist impulse. As a result, they provide or tolerate separate channels for a limited range of black activities without maintaining the broader range of mainstream opportunities.

One reason for the continuing influence of prevailing racial myths is the failure to analyze them as carefully and openly as a community of scholars should. For example, it is assumed that the minority status of blacks in the United States implies acclimation to situations where blacks and whites are in a ratio of one to nine. Actually, most blacks and whites on campuses have had little familiarity with sustained racially mixed settings, and both have to work hard to produce viable relationships.

Vehicles, such as faculty and student government meetings or freshman orientation sessions, which could

assist this process have been underutilized or misused. Thorough, frank discussions of what higher education in racially mixed settings involves should occur periodically without the stimulus of crisis and confrontation. These sessions should produce recommendations and methods of accountability for their implementation. Such a systematic approach is, however, rare. Many faculties, for example, have not felt it desirable or necessary to analyze in their meetings the changing needs of student bodies which contain increasing numbers of blacks. The absence of such serious and regularized discussions allows ignorance and prejudice in all parties to remain comfortably unchallenged. The results, as one would expect, have not been good. Blacks and whites on white campuses are becoming increasingly alienated from each other.[4]

What then are appropriate institutional responses by white schools to the education of blacks? The symposium participants emphasized several types of response which have been widely discussed as well as several others which have received less attention.[5] A major theme of the discussions was that not all white schools should try to fit one or two molds. It is ironic that schools which fight so hard to maintain uniqueness should seek one common reaction to blacks. It is even more ironic that in many cases that reaction is alien to their normal functioning. Schools which have prided themselves on educating an elite have chosen to pursue their "mission" with blacks among the severely disadvantaged. On the other hand, schools which have provided effective mass education often want to deal only with elite blacks. Both stereotyping and negative consequences for students characterize each case.

Schools must perceive and respond to more than one type of black. They also must respond according to their proven capabilities rather than isolating "new"

students exclusively in new and uncertain programs. If a school is known for its strength in certain areas, but recruits blacks only in black studies, urban studies, and other recently established programs or departments, something is wrong. One perception of schools which make room for blacks only in certain areas was expressed at the symposium. Paraphrased slightly, the perception is that these schools want to be able to identify blacks with experimental or special programs whose success or failure is incidental to the overall standing of the institution.

The tendency of schools to venture completely into the unknown rather than modify proven procedures when they deal with blacks disturbed symposium participants greatly. Questions were raised about schools which have good experience recruiting students from certain areas and types of schools going to totally different areas and types of schools to look for blacks. The argument is that this makes them miss many of their best prospects and leads to high attrition rates among blacks. A similar concern was expressed about schools which have had no interest in remediation (no freshman composition courses, etc.) and no staff equipped to handle it, but which produce remedial programs for blacks only and thereby stigmatize black students. Only the unfounded assumption that blacks do not have a diversity of interests and talents similar to whites can lead to a pattern of response which is limited to certain enclaves of the campus community.[6]

Equity: Whose Responsibility?

The notion that a few key administrators and one or two black faculty members can provide everything necessary to make an institution hospitable to increasing numbers of blacks has been discredited. Involve-

ment of significant numbers of people from all the major sectors of the campus community is needed if adequate change is to be initiated and sustained. Too often those charged with assisting black students have little control over the most critical areas of the students' experience, while those who have great impact on the students are encouraged to feel little, if any, responsibility for them. Having blacks in the dean's office, admissions office, and social science departments is important. Several black participants in the symposium who hold such positions argued strongly, however, that this is insufficient. Their view was that combatting the attitude that they can and should handle all "black matters" is both difficult and crucial. Where that attitude prevails, black students quickly and appropriately perceive indifference, if not hostility, among the majority of the faculty and administration.

One step which schools should take to involve more of the campus with blacks, or blacks with more of the campus, is a dramatic improvement in the flow of information. Currently students, faculty, and administrators are operating on the basis of partial and/or incorrect information. Black students usually do not know the rules of the game at white schools. They do not have relatives or friends who have journeyed through similar institutions and can, therefore, provide useful suggestions about landmarks and pitfalls. In the words of one symposium participant whose work is recruiting black students, "Many black students don't even know that there are no 'homeroom teachers' in college." To deal with this situation it would be logical to involve experienced hands in the orientation and guidance of these students. Instead, most schools have developed a prevailing pattern of what one symposium participant called "the blind leading the blind." Young blacks who often are learning the rules themselves are given the task of providing most or all of

the answers for black students.

Black students need the best and most complete information possible about the options open to them and the costs and benefits of each. Unless they make such information available, institutions are compounding any previous inadequacies in students' backgrounds. Or, as one white college president said, "The students with the least prior exposure and poorest counseling are being forced to make choices about matters like majors and to pay the price for poor decisions." With the range of curricular and extracurricular options available, many blacks "select options that do not allow them to learn the system, and as a result many are ejected or drop out." Another white college president placed similar emphasis on the supply of information. He stated that no matter how active top-level administrators are in setting responsive policies, an institution must have adequate numbers of "people on the firing line who are sensitive to new demands and knowledgeable about effective responses to them."

In many cases blacks arrive on campus with expectations which are thoroughly incongruent with the reality of institutional expectations. It was agreed at the symposium that much of this divergence of expectations could and should be eliminated through better communication with and about prospective black students. It is easy for black students to get "psyched out" and for teachers to develop self-fulfilling prophecies of failure by black students when both are deluged with misinformation which implies that all blacks are "academic basket cases." In response to the discussion of this problem, one participant called everyone's attention to the "pygmalion effect" which shows that students' performance relates to positive evaluation and attention from teachers as much as any other factor. Black students in many white schools are suffering

from a reverse pygmalion effect. Stereotyped responses, indifference, and prejudice are undermining rather than nurturing their confidence.

What Standards?

The difficult situation of blacks on white campuses is further aggravated by the absence of reasonable and stable reference points or standards. Standards set for blacks tend to be rigid, arbitrary, and discriminatory, or to be so flexible, unpredictable, and patronizing that they become meaningless. In some situations a black student faces tests and grading methods which penalize him for characteristics other than those the tests allege to measure so that he must be outstanding in order to be credited with average performance. He may also have to adhere to standards for financial aid, discipline, campus housing, or involvement in activities like recruiting other black students which either ignore or overemphasize the "black problem" and overshadow his individual needs. On the other hand, the same student will face other situations where he is so completely free to do his own thing that no structural constraints appear applicable. Whether he doesn't write papers or go to class, spends much more than his budget allows and wants more money, or is constantly breaching disciplinary guidelines, he never meets resistance.

As one student participant observed about this type of situation, "Blacks need and deserve an honest confrontation with the system," but in many cases they cannot get it. Good efforts by a student in one course often produce failing results or negative feedback, while half-hearted efforts by the same student in another course are producing the opposite. This leaves blacks progressively more uncertain about assessments

of themselves by themselves as well as by others.

Attempts to correct one of these situations unfortunately tend not to produce improvement, but merely to bring about a swing to the opposite situation. When told that some of the "liberal" gestures made toward blacks are damaging and amount to "killing blacks with kindness," many whites conclude that sensitivity and flexibility are to be avoided as appeasement and "caving in." Neither getting tough nor going soft is all of the problem or all of the solution. It is clear, however, that black students need to "feel that they are important enough to make the institution concerned about what they learn" and how they live.

If white schools would develop plans for achieving racial equity rather than content themselves with ad hoc attempts to react to pressure, they could develop more tenable postures. Institutions should be debating and adopting goals for black participation in all aspects of their functioning. Hopefully, in institutions which intend to increase black access the goal would be parity, or approximately 10 percent representation in administrations, boards, faculties, and student bodies. Regardless of the goals, however, there should be timetables and strategies for reaching them and application of appropriate sanctions for good or bad performance. Planning of this type might be less exciting but more constructive than plans about when to call the police to quell demonstrations or how to build a sit-in proof office.

The more familiar, but equally vital problem areas of recruitment, financial aid, and supportive services were not overlooked during this symposium. As the earlier sections of the report indicate, the issue of supportive services was examined closely. Specific structures such as counseling offices, tutorial programs,

and career placement offices were discussed. There was, in fact, a heated series of exchanges among several of the black participants over improvement of counseling. One group argued that more psychiatric services were needed because of the great strains suffered by black students. Another, larger group countered that this would intensify two problems. First, it would continue to consider the victims rather than the system as the factor to be changed. Second, it would add to the stigma of seeking counseling by associating the experience with clinical rather than routine needs. A white college president who agreed with the latter group asserted that the great need was for models of counseling other than the "one-on-one, get inside their heads" approach.

The group's attention always returned, however, to changing the distorted context in which these structures have been erected as the first step toward genuine improvement. In a similar way the focus of discussions about money and increased numbers of students always was related to the plight of those who already have enrolled. Because there continues to be greater emphasis on getting students in than on what happens to them after they arrive, prospective students are in many ways better served than students. The symposium participants, therefore, focused most general attention on adjustment by institutions as well as by blacks entering them.

The problems of black faculty members and administrators are quite similar to those of students so it is appropriate to talk about blacks as a group on white campuses. There are, however, special factors which complicate the lives of black teachers and administrators. If black students are on the bottom, black staff members are in the middle and subject to additional pressures. Often they are unsure of why they were

hired and how they are being evaluated. In addition to being technically competent, how much emphasis do they have to place on being "black enough," "credible as a black spokesman," or effective as a recruiter of other staff or students? Do they have the option of not being the resident expert on black issues?

Black Goals: "Opiates" or Education And Power?

How should blacks respond to the difficult situations in white schools? Symposium participants expressed great concern over the tendency of blacks to accept the various "opiates" available to them on white campuses: anti-achievement, anti-intellectualism, sloganeering, peripheral demands which produce empty victories, and drugs. In other words, the high priority which was placed on institutional change did not obscure the need for change by blacks. First, it was argued that blacks must forget less often that their primary objective on campuses is acquiring or refining skills. Second, in their "political" activities they must follow the "law" of effective reform rather than a series of ad hoc protests.

Serious reform efforts need several elements: thorough documentation of the grievance, an approach to the person or persons who can provide relief, and pursuit of a change which actually redresses the grievance. Too often blacks have added to the disadvantages of inexperience and powerlessness the disadvantages of unsubstantiated complaints to the wrong people in pursuit of illusory reforms. Seeking information has great legitimacy in the academy. Wrapped in that mantle blacks can learn a lot more than they now know or than they are "supposed" to know. With better knowledge they can channel more effectively the limited portion of their resources which is directed away from

their basic academic activities. For example, they will no longer focus all their pressure on administrators or trustees in situations where faculties actually are the main obstacles to change.

Blacks also need to spend less time worrying about the motivations of whites in positions of power. At least one white participant in the symposium objected vigorously to the idea that white schools consciously resist improvement in the status of blacks. No one, however, contradicted the assertion that regardless of people's intentions institutions only respond to new information accompanied by pressure. In addition, no one argued with the notion that well-intentioned whites and blacks have agreed upon the implementation of useless changes because they suspended critical judgment at times when it was sorely needed.

GRADUATE SCHOOLS: CLOSING THE PROFESSIONAL DEFICIT

Graduate schools were the focus of quite lively discussions because most participants had great concern about the continuing shortage of black professionals. The combined totals of black doctors, lawyers, and Ph.D.'s is approximately 10,000, or about 1-3 percent of each category. In addition, the doctoral programs of these schools are the major sources for the "pool" of qualified blacks to supply all of higher education. Severe criticism was directed toward schools which lament the scarcity of qualified black teachers but have only a 2-3 percent black enrollment in their doctoral programs. The same schools were attacked for failing to acknowledge the need for many more black professionals and to accommodate this need as they react to economic pressures to reduce places and financial aid in graduate programs.

Cutbacks are not the only way graduate schools are undermining efforts to close the "professional deficit" which has been called the biggest obstacle to black advancement.[7] Other actions help keep the numbers of blacks small. Because the record of graduate schools is so bad (fewer than 3,000 black Ph.D.'s in the last 100 years),[8] blacks are discouraged from going to them as students, faculty members, or administrators. The subjectivity of Ph.D. evaluations intimidates black students, especially in fields involving science and technology, where they feel they are not wanted and will be flunked out. Blacks also are discouraged because recruitment for these programs is not geared to the black colleges which continue to produce most of the black bachelor's degree holders even though they have a minority of black undergraduate enrollment.

Two other actions are hindering access of blacks to graduate schools. The tradition which makes letters of recommendation usually surpass transcripts in giving credit to students is not being followed in the case of black students. It was asserted at the symposium that recommendations for black candidates by white teachers frequently are less enthusiastic than their grades merit. Getting into graduate school is even more difficult for the significant number of blacks who have interrupted their educations for reasons involving finances or discrimination. Few efforts are made to allow slightly older graduates to return to school and secure further training and credentials in fields which were closed to blacks before 1969. By ignoring those who could complete degree requirements in two years or less, schools are making it impossible for dramatic increases in the number of black Ph.D.'s to occur for four or more years.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES: AN OPEN DOOR TO WHAT?

Community colleges present a special set of problems which were debated with more fervor than any other topic at the symposium. These institutions were the only ones about which it was asked, "Is there too much access for blacks?" A majority of black freshmen now enroll in community colleges, where the focus in most cases is vocational. Several white as well as black participants, therefore, charged repeatedly that community colleges are "dumping grounds" where the powerless will be made employable but not equipped or encouraged to pursue higher aspirations.

Arguments in favor of community colleges were asserted equally as strongly. Community colleges do not present as many barriers or obstacles to blacks as four-year colleges. The testing and financial problems are nonexistent or reduced in scale, there are more blacks in positions of authority, and there are transfer programs available. It was recognized, however, that the dumping-ground psychology does exist and must be resisted. There must be an open door at the end of two-year college experiences as well as at their beginning. Blacks are not yet in a position so favored that they can ask questions like, "Higher Education: Who Needs It?"

Blacks can ask, and did ask at this symposium, whether community colleges are deluding themselves and the public about their liberality. It was noted that much of their success in providing positions of power to blacks was not general but was limited to schools where blacks were in the overwhelming majority in the student body and surrounding community. The question which was raised involved the majority of "non-ghetto" community colleges where blacks repre-

sent only a significant minority. Can blacks expect continued exclusion from power in those institutions? Or will concerned whites join in working for equitable representation of blacks throughout the community college system?

BLACK COLLEGES: AN UNDERUTILIZED RESOURCE

Black colleges were viewed quite favorably by symposium participants because, in most cases, they have done more with fewer resources than white schools. Despite severe financial pressures and less than optimal management systems, black colleges continue to produce graduates with both the skills and motivation necessary for further education and productive careers. It was agreed that white schools should learn from the resourcefulness of black colleges in maintaining both the flexibility to deal with students of all backgrounds and the performance standards to assure their growth.

Fears of the "brain drain" from black to white schools have subsided considerably because there are many blacks who resist tempting offers by white schools and others who are leaving white schools for black schools. Without discounting racial pride as an explanation, it was noted that the many problems at white schools and the implied or explicit limits on the development of black individuals in them accounted for much of the new trend.

It also was argued that black colleges have begun and should continue to provide opportunities in fields such as engineering and mass media where white schools have been deficient in educating blacks. One criticism of black schools involved failure to provide more strength in areas where white schools are weak.

If, however, black schools are to develop such areas of specialization, they will need to do so in a planned if not coordinated fashion. Every black college does not need and could not support a comprehensive program in mass communications.

There was great concern that black colleges are not perceived as good options for community college students who want to go on for bachelor's degrees. Community college students of all races are commonly considered to be less affluent, less secure in new settings, and less confident academically than those who begin at four-year schools. It also is clear that many community college students fail to continue their educations because they perceive no viable options. Black colleges cost less, provide more familiar and hospitable settings, and are quite capable of building academic performance and self-esteem in their students. The major reasons for the absence of a strong link between black and community colleges appear to be the "invisibility" of black colleges in other sectors of higher education and the lack of aggressiveness of black schools in developing transfer programs. Both black and community colleges were urged to explore possibilities most seriously.

At a time when more students, and especially more black students, are seeking higher education, black colleges are not expendable. Symposium participants expressed the gravest concern about plans to construct new public colleges in various states rather than to expand existing black colleges. Needless and wasteful duplication of services is particularly distressing when it challenges the existence of successful, black-controlled institutions.

INNOVATION: FOR WHOM?

To the surprise of some of the white participants, there was deep ambivalence among blacks toward innovation. The discussions made it clear that innovation often is in either of two forms, neither of which is desirable. One form is innovation for blacks only, which tends to produce isolated, underfinanced, short-term programs. The other is general innovation which tends to take place without black involvement or concern for its impact on blacks. Blacks, therefore, are being taught to associate innovation with being used as guinea pigs or being ignored.

Those who are working for innovation and reform of a general nature in areas such as external degrees, flexible requirements, and flexible time for degrees clearly need to pay more attention to black views and needs. The assumption that blacks have had such a rough time in the traditional system that they will be delighted with almost any innovation is unfounded. It will be years before major innovations are perfected and popularized so that they can benefit the majority of black students. Meanwhile, blacks want the traditional system to extend itself to be responsive to their needs.

Innovative programs which reduce structure and greatly increase freedom leave many students feeling confused and worried. This feeling is particularly intense among blacks who have trouble getting sound advice about curriculum choices and careers through informal channels. When you know it's likely that you'll get lost, and you suspect that many of the people along the way aren't interested in helping you reach your goal, you probably aren't too eager to walk uncharted trails.

No one at the symposium argued that innovation was irrelevant or all bad, but there was great concern that some reformers appear to think that only innovation is relevant or good. Blacks do not want to be excluded from any part of the academic process including the conceptualization, implementation, and evaluation of innovative programs. Without involvement of this type there is no guarantee that blacks will benefit equally from innovations. For example, in evaluating external degree programs from a black perspective, it clearly is quite important to consider their reliance on standardized tests, which is even greater than that in traditional programs. Do the traditional cultural and class biases appear in these tests? Do blacks stay away from such programs because they feel the means of evaluation is discriminatory?

CONCLUSION

Dealing with sensitive questions in a diverse group is not an easy task, but the participants in this symposium appeared to relish making the effort and to find the results worthwhile. This was particularly gratifying because frank communication across racial lines as well as between people from different kinds of institutions is too rare. By talking intensively with people whom they normally would not encounter, symposium participants learned a great deal about the way their activities are perceived by others. They also heard some different, representative views on more general issues. Exposure of this type is valuable in itself, but hopefully it also will provide a basis for new forms of on-going collaboration. One example of this was provided by a white administrator who said he had increased his understanding of the need to include blacks in his network of communications for recruitment and other purposes. He added that during the symposium

he had met some of the people to whom he should have been talking.

In spite of the serious disagreements which existed throughout the symposium, there was a broad range of agreement. Four issues were given highest priority: parity, power, standards, and innovation. More progress toward parity has been made in community colleges than in other types of institutions. Such rapid, unplanned progress has been made by them, in fact, that there may well be overrepresentation of blacks in student bodies contrasted with continuing underrepresentation in faculties and administrations. At each higher level of education, significantly less progress has been made so that at the crucial graduate level the situation is appalling.

Power is a logical companion to parity, but it has to be treated separately because many people continue to limit their view of appropriate representation for blacks to entry-level, or even special, positions. In spite of such racist perceptions, it is necessary for blacks to become involved quickly and permanently at all levels of decision making and responsibility.

There also was consensus on the importance of standards and innovation. The thrust of the discussions, however, clearly surprised several white participants who expected blacks to be interested in less of the former and more of the latter. Actually the blacks were concerned about rationalizing standards and reconsidering both the pace and the nature of innovation.

The feeling throughout the symposium and among all the participants was that the underlying problem is the failure of white schools to react in a thoughtful, responsive manner to the challenge of greater black participation. Only the opportunity to share equitably in

decision making about services produced and the means of distribution of them as well as the consumption of those services can reduce the alienation of blacks in higher education. As long as the underrepresentation and alienation of blacks persists, the performance of higher education will mock its espousal of the principles of justice and equality. In addition, the failure to tap and develop fully the manpower resources of the black community will be recognized by increasing numbers of observers as one more example of intolerable wastefulness in higher education.

NOTES

1. Enrollment figures for blacks are derived from notoriously unreliable estimates which vary widely. There is, however, broad agreement that 50-70 percent of all black students attend white institutions. For a good discussion of enrollment estimates and other issues in higher education for blacks see: Fred E. Crossland, Minority Access To College (New York: Schocken Books, 1971).

2. High estimates place black enrollment at about 6 percent of the total enrollment. Blacks make up almost twice as large a segment of the total United States population. Ibid.

3. Reliable information is scarce, but many people argue that one or two faculty members, one or two administrators, and no trustee is a typical black adult presence. A special issue of the Chronicle of Higher Education (May 30, 1972) contains many current reactions to the position of blacks in white schools. In addition, an article in Change magazine presents data on faculties which suggest that there are only about 1,000 black professors in white schools. David M. Rafky, "The Black Academic In The Marketplace," Change, October, 1971.

4. Evidence of this alienation includes Thomas A. Johnson, "Campus Racial Tensions Rise As Black Enrollment Increases," The New York Times, April 4, 1972.

5. For additional discussion of institutional responses see: R. R. McDaniel and J. W. McKee, An Evaluation of Higher Education's Response to Black Students (Indiana University, 1971).

6. A report by the National Urban League based on data in the American Council of Education's annual survey of entering freshmen illustrates the diversity and scope of black student interests and aspirations. See: "The Educational and Occupational Plans of Freshmen Entering Black and White Colleges, 1966-69" (Washington, D.C.: National Urban League Research Department, 1970).

7. Frank Bowles and Frank A. DeCosta, Between Two Worlds (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).

8. James W. Bryant, A Survey of Black American Doctorates (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1970).

PARTICIPANTS

William M. Birenbaum - President, Staten Island Community College
William M. Boyd, II - Executive Director, Educational Policy Center
Ernest B. Boynton, Jr. - Professor of English, The City College of New York
Charles Coverdale - Assistant Director of Admissions, Harvard Business School
Nolen M. Ellison - Assistant to the Chancellor, Metropolitan Junior College District (Mo.)
Miles M. Fisher, IV - Executive Secretary, National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Ed.
Edmund J. Gleazer - Executive Director, American Association of Junior Colleges
Thomas A. Graves, Jr. - President, College of William and Mary in Virginia
Ulric Haynes, Jr. - Senior Vice President, Spencer Stuart & Associates
Roy D. Hudson - President, Hampton Institute
Hugh Lane - President, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students
Hazel Love - Coordinator, Graduate Fellowship Program, University of California at Los Angeles
Robert T. Manning - Dean, Eastern Virginia Medical School
Mary W. McHenry - Professor of English, Federal City College
Benjamin F. Payton - Officer in Charge, Higher Education and Minority Affairs, The Ford Foundation
Percy Pierre - Dean, School of Engineering, Howard University
Frank W. Render, II - Senior Associate, Oram Associates

Michael D. Robinson - Undergraduate student, Harvard College

Robert H. Sharpley - Psychiatrist, formerly Harvard Health Service

Alan P. Sloan - Executive Vice President, Sutherland Learning Associates

W. David Smith - Chairman, Department of Afro-American Studies, University of Cincinnati

Edward Underwood - Graduate student, University of Missouri

Dyckman W. Vermilye - Executive Director, American Association for Higher Education